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[Since the Kwoma kinship system is of the Omaha type, information on kin terms applied to affinal or consanguinal relatives on an actual or classificatory level of relationship will be found in categories 601 and 602.]

Adulthood

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monial father and a ceremonial son. The first of these relationships is established during adolescence, when he enters the age-grade cycle, while the second is instituted approximately twenty-five years later, when he starts playing the rôle of initiator in these ceremonies. Although the primary function of these relationships is carried out in the ceremonies themselves, the *ceremonial father* and the *ceremonial son* also stand as pseudo-kin in everyday life. A man is normally less intimate with them than with a *friend*, and he usually will not support them so strongly. Nevertheless, he is "safe" to visit and entertain them. Thus both the *friend-friend* and the *ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son* relationships bind the members of the subtribe together with ties like those of kinship, and are a consolidating force that is highly functional in a tribe with no king, chief, or council of elders, and no central political organization except a loosely organized court. [561] 608

Affinal relationships are not so friendly as consanguineal ones. Until a man has paid the bride-price, he is frequently antagonized by his wife's relatives. They are continually dunning him to pay and criticizing him for his treatment of his wife. Furthermore, a man may be frustrated by his sister's husband, for, as long as the latter does not pay the bride-price, he has no money to obtain a wife of his own. Also he must be continually ready to protect his sister against maltreatment. As a result, brothers-in-law are frequently aggressive toward one another. For the most part such aggression is expressed verbally in the form of insult and threat. Fear of retaliation and the disadvantages of open conflict within the subtribe are the limiting factors. The following is a typical case of such antagonism. Sof beat his wife for being indiscreetly adulterous, and she ran to the house of one of her older brothers, but he was not at home. Sof followed her and dragged her back. When her brother returned and learned what had happened, he shouted up the mountainside to Sof: [572] 602
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"You had better stop beating my sister."
"I will beat her all I want, if she continues to behave so badly."

602 "You talk as if you had already paid the bride-price for
578 her."

583 "Well, if you don't like my beating her, what are you

• 607 going to do about it?"

"I am not afraid of your threats. You are just a child
anyway."

"Just because you have been away working for the whites,
you think you are pretty tough. Come to the house tambran
and you'll see whether I'm a child or not."

The shouting continued for about two hours and then sub-
sided. Nothing further came of the affair.

When the bride-price has been paid, an affinal relationship
becomes friendly. The woman's relatives no longer have to
look after her, and they have the money to use to their own
advantage. The husband need no longer fear their interfer-
ence in his behavior toward his wife. He may visit and eat
with them without fear of sorcery, and he coöperates with
them economically.

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Thus toward all relatives, except affines before the bride-
price is paid, a man maintains relationships which are for
the most part friendly. He is safe from sorcery danger from
them as long as the kinship bond remains unbroken, and is
supported by them in disputes and helped by them in many
economic tasks. He, in return, is obligated to support and
help them in the same ways. Aggression is theoretically pro-
hibited, but it nevertheless not infrequently occurs. If it is at
all serious, the kin tie is broken, and the two act toward one
another as non-relatives.

602 The greatest contrast between the experiences of an adult
591 man and an adult woman results from the custom of patrilo-
cal marriage. A man's relationship with his affines is attenu-
ated by the fact that he does not live in close contact with
them, but this is not the case with the woman. Her adjust-
ment to her affines-to-be has already been described. After
marriage her position in her husband's hamlet is somewhat
firmer, although it is not until his parents die and his sisters
marry out of the hamlet that her position becomes relatively